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DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

*Wolseley, Staffordshire,
17. Dec., 1834.*

PEOPLE are in a state of uncertainty as to whether the Parliament will meet before it be dissolved, or whether it will be dissolved first? This is, as indeed it ought to be, absolutely in the power of the King; that is to say, in the power of his Ministers, who will, of course, do that which they think most likely to give them a House of Commons disposed to keep them in their places; and then the question is, *will a dissolution now be better calculated to give them such a House of Commons than a dissolution after the Parliament has met?*

My opinion is, *that a dissolution now would NOT be better calculated to give them such a Parliament:* for which opinion my reasons are as follow:

Notwithstanding the monstrous absurdity that there is in the belief, that the Ministers would attempt to repeal, or to alter for the worse, the Reform Bill, or any part of the Reform Bill; or that they would act upon the principle of not making any reform what-

soever in the abuses of the several institutions of the country; notwithstanding the monstrosity of the absurdity of such a supposition, if they were to go to an election now, the partisans of the Whigs would take the name of "REFORMERS"; would represent their opponents as ANTI-REFORMERS; and, under these names they would go to the poll. And, when WORDS have got the power, *meaning and sense* are banished. It is words, and not reason, which take the command in such a case.

All the deeds of the Whigs would be cast aside; the mere name of reformer, which would be, and which already is, adopted instead of that of Whig, would do wonders. Besides, if the deeds of the Whigs were arrayed against their partisans; if they were accused of the monstrous Poor-law Bill; of refusing to take off the malt-tax; and of other of their deeds, who will there be authorized to say *that their successors will not do the same?* The invectives against the Whigs will be powerful enough; but if their successors be accused of an intention to do the same things, it is better to keep a devil that you do know, than to take a devil that you do not know; and until there be something said to make the people believe that the present Ministers will do *better* than their predecessors, it is not reasonable that the people should prefer the former; and the Whigs will, with some degree of justice, accuse their successors with an intention to upset all reform what-

soever; and presume that they will act upon their former opinions and principles; unless something be first *said* or *done*, to convince the people that this will not be the case.

If the Parliament meet first, and something be then done to give people good reason to believe that the Tories will do things which the Whigs refused to do for their good, then they may dissolve with a certainty of having a great and lasting majority in the House of Commons. Not to confuse the matter, by the use of general and indefinite terms and epithets, I will mention *two things* which lie rankling at the bottoms of the hearts of the people; namely, the MALT-TAX and the POOR-LAW BILL. I will speak for myself first, and say, that, if the former be not totally repealed, leaving no fragment of the horrible burden behind; and if the latter be not also repealed and rubbed clean out of the Statute Book, I shall deem the present Ministry as bad as the last. I shall not be amused with talk about "*carrying out the Reform Bill*." I shall not be amused with talk about "*liberal measures*"; if the malt-tax be not wholly repealed, and the Poor-law Bill wholly swept from the Statute Book, I shall hate this Ministry as cordially as I did the last. Thus say my constituents, and thus say all the sensible and really valuable part of the people.

I have proved, in the most undeniable manner, in Parliament, as well as out of it, that the malt-tax causes the people to pay out of their earnings *thirteen millions* of pounds sterling a year; that is to say, that, if the tax did not exist,

they would have to pay for their beer thirteen millions a year less than they pay now. I have proved this so often; I have so often challenged a contradiction, and never received it, in Parliament, as well as out of it; and it is so thoroughly believed to be true throughout the whole of England and Wales, that I set it down as an acknowledged truth. Well, then, if we be not to have relief from this intolerable burden; if the change be not to bring us this, why am I to care one straw about the change? And, what ground have I to hope that it will take this burden from our shoulders, unless something be done to give me ground for believing that the burden will be taken off.

A positive assurance of this sort is the more necessary too; because Sir ROBERT PEEL and a large part of the Tories voted *for rescinding* Sir WILLIAM INGILBY'S *motion for a repeal of half the tax*. Sir ROBERT PEEL spoke, too, for that motion, which, as I told the House then, decided its character with the people. When I made the motion for a repeal of the malt-tax during the last session, I do not recollect whether Sir ROBERT PEEL was present; but if he was, he voted against me. Now, with the knowledge of all this in the minds of the people, they will want some assurance to be given them; and, if they go to an election without such assurance the parties will be upon a level, in the eyes of the people, with this exception against the Tories, that their former bitter opposition to reform will be taken as ground for asserting, that they will even undo every thing in the

way of reform that has been done to the utmost extent of their power.

I beg all those to whom this shall come greeting, not to imagine that this malt-tax affair is a "*hobby-horse*" of mine. I never taste a drop of beer of any kind; but I know how many millions there are in England and Wales to whom it is (say pottering PARNELL about it what he will) a necessary of life; that is to say, of healthy, hearty, cheerful, and vigorous life, such as the people in England have always led; and such as they will lead, or they will, first or last, make those who attempt to compel them to lead another sort of life repent of their endeavours. I know very well that there are, in the King's dominions, many millions of people who do not drink beer; but I know that every wise and public-spirited man in Ireland and Scotland most deeply lament, that the people there have not beer, instead of the accursed poison which they now swallow; I know that amongst all the many things which sensible and public-spirited Irishmen wish for, and pray for, is, a repeal of the tax upon malt. The brewing of beer is carried to such perfection both in Scotland and Ireland, as for the all-devouring *Wen* to receive a considerable part of its supplies of beer from those countries. BRISTOL and LIVERPOOL have also a large part of their supplies from Ireland. I saw most admirable breweries at CLONMELL and at KILKENNY, places in the very heart of Ireland. And, indeed, I can say that I know that, if the malt-tax were repealed, the accursed whiskey would, even in that country, be supplanted by beer; and that it would be so in Scot-

land there cannot be the smallest doubt.

And this would put an end to, not only the maddening bodily effects of the whiskey, but of that everlasting turmoil, and all that hatred and bloodshed; and that most destructive habitual violation of the law, all which arise out of the monstrous prohibition to turn the barley into beer. It is impossible to say how great would be the benefit of the repeal of this unnatural tax, which was first laid on by the Whigs (always the worst enemies of the people) in the year 1689. In another part of this *Register*, and immediately after this article that I am now writing, I shall, for the purpose of pushing this matter home, insert my own account of the speech which I made in the House of Commons during the last session, for the repeal of this tax. The reader will there find a statement of some of the great *moral* evils of this tax. He will find a clear proof of the enormous cost of it to the people; clear proof that it costs more every year to the people of England and Wales than three times the amount of all the relief which they receive from the poor-rates; he will there find the whole matter fairly stated; and he will find, if he look at the debate, that Lord ALTHORP had no opposition to offer, except that, *he could not spare the sum which the tax brought into the revenue.*

I beseech the reader's attention to this report; and I beseech him to be assured that there is not one single farmer or tradesman in England and Wales, who does not feel most intimately interested in this matter; and who, if he receive no assurance that the new Parliament will repeal this tax, would not feel per-

fectly indifferent as to whom should be chosen, at the least ; while it is very possible, and very natural, that he should have objections to a party who have been so decidedly hostile to the making of a reform of the Parliament ; from which reform alone a repeal of this tax could ever be expected.

And, as to the second point, the Poor-law Bill ; "*amendment bill*," as it is called, for my part I should think myself infamous, if I were to recommend any man to vote for any candidate who would not pledge himself, and most distinctly pledge himself, to the sweeping of this act from the statute-book. In my five letters to the Earl of RADNOR, I have proved, beyond all contradiction, the monstrous injustice of this law. But, besides its injustice ; besides the stab that it gives to all the principles and laws of *all property* ; besides the monstrousness of the innovation ; besides that, the inevitable result of it, if forced into effect, must be, not only a revolution in England, but a revolution of a character that one shudders to think of ; besides all this, there is the dread that comes home to the bosom of every farmer in the kingdom ; and the certainty, that if this law be pushed on into effect, or rather, if it be endeavoured to push it on into effect, the farmer of England may exclaim with MACBETH, exchanging a few of the words, "Sleep no more ; the Poor-law Bill has murdered sleep ; and the English farmer shall sleep no more." This is the sorest place of all. I would beseech the men who have now the power to read my five letters to the Earl of RADNOR, which I ordered to be republished, and which may be had, I suppose, at BOLT-COURT. I would beseech them also to read my "*LEGACY TO LABOURERS*," which ought to be published next week, I having sent all the manuscript to London. The last is about *two hours' attentive reading*. In that little book I have traced property to its origin ; and have established the RIGHTS OF THE POOR, by a reference to the laws of na-

ture ; the laws of God ; and the laws of England ; and I have proved to persons of the most ordinary capacity, that the Poor-law "*Amendment*" Bill is a daring violation of them all.

Now, the people must, and will, have satisfaction upon this point. This bill has troubled every cottage in the kingdom. It has made men think and talk about law, and about rights, who never talked about them, or thought of them before. It has filled all England with alarm ; and it has so steeled the compassionate hearts of Englishmen, that they hear of the degradation, and of the melancholy state of the author of the bill, without any feelings of compassion at all. This bill, brought forward amongst the peers by its author, on the express ground, that all legal provision for the destitute was bad ; and that it was *bad to make a legal provision, even for the aged and infirm* ; this bill, pushed on in the House of Commons under an express declaration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we ought not to listen to our feelings in such a case ; this bill has done more to embitter the minds of Englishmen, than all the acts of injustice which, before the passing of it, they have had to endure for half a century. Therefore, unless the people understand, and firmly believe that the members of a new Parliament will repeal this bill, the new members will be even worse in their eyes than the old ones. Let it be recollected that, at the last debate upon this bill, in the House of Commons, which debate took place on a motion for agreeing to certain amendments made by the Lords, Mr. HUGHES proposed that the amendment should be taken into consideration that day six months. Ten of us spoke in favour of this motion. Our ground of opposition was irresistible by the force of reason. We said, this bill has been passed by the House on grounds furnished in many volumes of reports of commissioners. The House has *never read* these reports. Why not give time, therefore ? Why not give us six months to consider of a bill which disturbs every cottage in the kingdom ; which makes a greater revolution in the country, than would be

effected by an abrogation of the kingly office itself? Why not give the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the farmers, the great traders, the manufacturers, time coolly to consider the consequences of a measure making so great a change; far greater than that made by the Reform Bill itself? And what was the answer we received from Lord ALTHORP? Why this, that "HE MUST BE A BOLD MINISTER, IN-DEED, WHO WOULD BRING IN THIS BILL AGAIN." He had got his majority, nevertheless, at his back, and the bill became law, even in the face of this declaration! Unquestionably if the bill had not been passed before the reports had been read, never could it have been passed at all.

And, is it to be supposed that the new Ministry will have a quiet life under the existence of this bill? Is it to be supposed that there will be found no member in a new Parliament to move for a repeal of this bill? Can it be possible that any man in his senses can fail to perceive the everlasting comparisons that will be made between the provisions of this bill, and the expenditure on account of pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, retired allowances, donations to the clergy, and all things of this sort, the expenses of which are defrayed out of taxes raised on the labour of the people? This bill contains the first legal provision that ever was heard of in England, for punishing the mother of a bastard, while the father was suffered to escape wholly unpunished. This part of the law is, in fact, a direct interference as to morals. We were told to *dismiss all feeling from our breasts*, while discussing this part of the law. Whatever we might do, at the suggestion of the *hommes de lettres*, the electors of England and Wales are not *hommes de lettres*; and they have not dismissed all feeling from their breasts; nor have they dismissed all memory from their minds. And, unfortunately for the present Ministry, they recollect, not that Sir ROBERT PEEL supported this bill by speech; but that he *voted* for it; or, at least, did not vote against it, nor against any part of it; and they fur-

ther recollect, that the DUKE OF WELLINGTON BOTH SPOKE AND VOTED FOR IT.

You may judge of the effect of this last-mentioned circumstance upon their minds by that which took place at the great meeting at MANCHESTER, which was a meeting for all Lancashire. The address to his Majesty, expressing satisfaction that he had dismissed the Ministers, stated, as the first and chief ground of that satisfaction, that those Ministers had brought in, pushed on, and caused to be passed, the POOR-LAW "Amendment" BILL. There were against that address not more than fifty hands, perhaps, out of twenty thousand, held up. But, after the address had been agreed to in this manner, a resolution was proposed, *condemning the Duke of WELLINGTON's conduct in having approved of, and supported, this bill*; and, now, observe, that resolution was passed without one single hand being held up against it, though the meeting was very audibly appealed to, and had plenty of time given to it for that purpose.

This alone is enough to show with what terrible disadvantage the new Ministry would go to an election, leaving it to be supposed, that they meant to uphold this bill; and that will be supposed, and that must be supposed, unless something be said or done, to convince the people, that this change of the Ministry is to produce a repeal of that bill. Therefore, as there is no other effectual mode of producing conviction upon the minds of the people upon these two great points, than that of meeting the Parliament before the dissolution, common sense appears to me to dictate to the Ministers not to dissolve, until they have met the Parliament; that is to say, unless they mean to keep on the malt-tax, and push into force the Poor-law Bill; and if they mean to do these things, they may as well vacate their posts at once; for one moment's peace they will never have as long as they are in those posts; and the chances are, that chop upon chop, and change upon change, will succeed each other in rapid succession, until

some accident or other; some panic; some hubbub shall throw the whole thing into confusion.

Satisfied upon these two points, the people may be safely trusted in an election, in spite of all the clamorous cryings of the Whigs. There are many other points besides these. There must be a reform as to church matters. Justice demands that the claims of the Dissenters should be patiently and kindly attended to. Every grievance that they have ought to be removed. The mere gratification of the *rich* part of them is nothing. This is a matter, however, which must necessarily require a little time. But the above two points require dispatch. There is the *currency*; there is the *interest of the debt*. There is the great question, whether the fundholder be to continue to receive double of that which he ought to receive; and the still greater question, whether the working man, who was born since the debt was contracted, and whether his child now in the cradle; whether these be to continue to work to pay the interest of this debt. But, these are matters which require very deliberate discussion; because, with regard to them, the best and most intelligent men may have their disagreements; but, with regard to the above two points, of MALT-TAX and POOR-LAW BILL, the discussion has been closed; the repeal may take place in a few days; and with regard to them the minds of the people are irrevocably made up; and as to my mind, it has long been made up; and never will I, by word or deed, give, directly or indirectly, the smallest degree of support to, but always will I do everything that I possibly can to pull down, any Ministry, any party, any set of men, or any single man, who shall do or say anything to prevent the repeal of the malt-tax, and the repeal of the Poor-law "*Amendment*" Bill. For twenty long years I have been endeavouring to cause the repeal of the former; and from the days of the first appearance of the book of the villanous MALTHUS, I have been labouring to prevent the latter, and to prevent everything; STURGES BOURNE'S

bills; hired overseers; every thing proceeding upon the principles of that bill. I behold the situation of that man, who was the author, the hatcher, the ever-restless contriver of that bill. I have my eye full upon the present situation of that man, who, when he presented the bill to the House of Lords, eulogized the barbarous MALTHUS: I see his situation; I see him prancing about amongst the gabbling devils at PARIS, leaving his card with "*H. Brougham, homme de lettres et avocat*" upon it; I see him in this situation; and I exclaim, "May such be the fate of every supporter of the Poor-law Bill!"

MALT-TAX AND CURRENCY.

I SEE that there is a terrible *hitch* in the forming of this new Ministry; and I perceive that it is rumoured, that Sir ROBERT PEEL has been quitted by Lord CHANDOS, because he will not agree to a repeal of the malt-tax, and to some new arrangement with regard to the currency. Now, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, say, that neither Ministry nor Parliament can go on smoothly for one month after the Parliament meets, without either repealing the malt-tax, or making an alteration of some sort in the currency, or both. And, here is the very dilemma, which I mentioned in my *Register*, when I mooted the question as to Sir ROBERT PEEL joining the Duke, and where I said that Sir ROBERT PEEL would do the Duke harm, unless Sir ROBERT could get the better of his pride, and acknowledge his past errors with regard to the currency. I beg leave to refer my readers to the passage of the *Register* of 29. November, page 534. "If he be too proud to acknowledge his errors on this subject, then he cannot join the Duke." I do not know whether he be too proud, or not; but this I know, that if he be too proud to do it, if I had been the Duke, he should not have joined me: and I am quite sure, that no Ministry can stand, for any length of time, who will not repeal the malt-tax, and

who will not either lower the interest of the debt, or make a change in the value of the currency. This I am quite sure of; so that it is useless to talk about the matter. It does seem that there is a *hitch*; and, if there be, this is the cause of it. It is, indeed, the cause at the bottom of the late turning out. The bushel of wheat turned out the Ministers; for it was the bushel of wheat that made the landlords listen to the Malthusian and Broughamite Poor-law Bill; it was the bushel of wheat that made the rescinding of the vote upon the malt-tax so horrible a sin. In short, the fundowners and the landowners have come at last to the open war, so positively predicted by me, in the year 1817; and we are now about to see which will prevail. For my part, I side with those who are HOSTILE to the *Poor-law Bill*, and to the monstrous tax upon malt. If Sir ROBERT PEEL persevere upon these two points, and upon the question of the currency, the sooner he quit the less mortification he will have to endure. The debt MUST be reduced, or the currency altered: the Cobbettites MUST triumph over Sir ROBERT PEEL in one way or the other. He cannot, with altering the currency, raise the bushel of wheat any more than he can make the THAMES run back to OXFORD. That brave and wise and just and faithful man, the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, has just given the accursed paper-money the last blow, by ordering the collectors of the customs not to receive, in payment of the duties, the drafts of the United States Bank! This is the FINISHER! We are now SAFE; we must now have a triumph, in one way, or in the other; we must have one-pound notes, and legal tender; or we must have a reduction of the interest of the debt. Lord ALTHORP was the last prop of this staggering concern: the confidence in his sound understanding, and in his great integrity, and the respect justly due to his character, gave the thing its last prop; but even he, who had ten times as much real influence as Sir ROBERT PEEL will ever have, could not have upheld the system during another

session of Parliament, even with a repeal of the horrible Poor-law Bill, and the hardly less horrible malt-tax; he must have done something with the currency; and again I repeat, that it matters not who shall be in power; for be they who they may, they must make an alteration in the currency, or reduce the interest of the debt, or be driven out in disgrace. And, the chopping and changing which we have now beheld and are beholding, are nothing more than natural consequences of this all-pervading and irresistible cause.

BULL-FROG MEETING.

Wolsley, 18. December, 1834.

I see by the London papers of yesterday, that a meeting of Kentish bullfrogs, with HOP LORD ELLICE at their head, has been held in London upon the subject of the malt-tax, and have blundered out a heap of nonsense and hypocrisy, upon which I will remark next week.

TO

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART.

Wolsley, 18. December, 1834.

SIR,—I beg you to be so good as to read the following article. There is very little exaggeration in it. Consider it for about ten minutes; and then, I think, you will be satisfied, that, if you be determined not to take off the malt-tax, and not to change the value of the currency, and not to reduce the interest of the debt, you will, by retreating from your office immediately, show your own good sense, as well as your coincidence in opinion with

Your most obedient

And most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

(From the True Sun).

EFFECTS OF THE MALT-TAX.—Mr. Coke's estate consists of 40,000 acres of land, rented upon an average at 16s.

per acre, and as the four-course system of husbandry is pursued in that county, one-fourth part of this estate, or 10,000 acres, are annually sowed with barley, and which produces, on an average, five quarters per acre, or 50,000 quarters of barley annually. Now, the duty paid (before the last repeal) to Government, on making five quarters of barley into malt and beer, of both sorts, was 14*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, so that each acre pays, in direct taxes, more than seventeen times the annual rent, these 10,000 acres yielding to Government 141,660*l.* while they yield to Mr. Coke only 8,000*l.* Now, the fundholders receive about three-fifths of all the taxes raised, whence it follows that they derive from these 10,000 acres 84,996*l.* 8*s.*, or above ten times as much as the landlord. This sum, too, be it remembered, is exempt from all direct taxation, contributes nothing to the poor, nothing to the state, the church, army, navy, &c., while the landlord's share is burdened with heavy expenses towards them all, and by far the greater part of it ultimately finds its way into the pockets of the same fundholders.

STANLEY AND GRAHAM.

I do not think it a very good sign that these gentlemen are sought for by the new Ministers. They are both clever men; and I do not know any thing to justify me in supposing that they are not men of perfect integrity: but what are they wanted for? as men of business, men to transact official affairs, there are thousands of English gentlemen, every one of whom is as fit as either of them, though they are, both of them, men of great ability, as persons to carry on the affairs of a government. They are both good speakers in Parliament; and as in that capacity it is, I am very sure, the light in which they are now viewed; but we may be well assured, that we are now in a situation not to be amused by speeches; and if the measures be not good, all the talking in the world will not reconcile the

people to them. In the days of PITT and FOX and SHERIDAN, the easy circumstances of the people made them content with the mere battlings in the House of Commons, and the House of Lords too. That is not the case now; it is an affair, now, of pounds, shillings, and pence; and of substantial justice to the working people, and to that large class of persons called Dissenters; aye, and to the church people too.

I hear, from a friend in Berkshire, and from friends in Norfolk, things that make me, who know so intimately all country affairs, and so many farmers, shudder but to think of. I hear that the farmers of whole neighbourhoods are obliged to have continual watches; that they are obliged to be the watchmen themselves, in many cases, and to go about *armed*; and I further hear, that "when they go to church, they go in a sort of a hearse, or omnibus," in order to keep all in a body, in case of sudden emergency! Why, can any speech-making make people happy in this state of things? Is this a state of things in which we are to listen to fine speeches and sarcastic repartees? Wise, and particularly *gentle* measures are now wanted; and, in a Parliament which will adopt such measures, no ministry will want speech-makers to defend them.

Therefore, without the smallest desire to disparage either the talent or the stock of knowledge, and, more especially, the integrity, of either of these gentlemen, I must say, that I do not think it was the soundest of policy to invite them to join. At any rate, I am very sure, that those gentlemen could not have added real strength to the Ministry; because, if it do not do the things that it ought to do, nothing can give it strength; and, if it do the things that it ought to do, it will be quite strong enough, without any assistance whatsoever; for it will have the people at its back.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, having been written to by some of his constituents, upon the subject of the change of Ministry, has sent them an answer, it appears, in the following words :

"Foremark, Dec. 14, 1834.

"SIR,—I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your very flattering letter, communicating the desire of my constituents of St. Margaret's and St. John's, to know my opinion respecting the late change of administration. Upon this subject I am so totally in the dark, that I feel myself quite incompetent to offer one worthy the least attention. All we know is, and that from most indisputable authority, that all the statements and surmises hitherto made through the press are entirely unfounded. Under these circumstances, I can only express my regret, and deeply lament it. The time, however, will soon arrive, when an explanation, authentic and in due form, will be required and given. When that time shall arrive, I shall be at my post, and to the best of my ability and judgment, and uncompromisingly, do my duty to my constituents and to my country. No doubt the electors of Westminster and the electors throughout England will do theirs in case of a dissolution, by returning to Parliament such men as they can confide in for integrity and understanding. I will add, that I have no apprehension of the Duke of Wellington or any other man or men. The rights and liberties of the people of England are now placed upon a rock from which no power on earth can remove them. Nothing but the rashness of the people themselves can bring them into the least danger. Let us only act upon knowledge, not surmise, steadily, resolutely, and rationally. What's the army, with twenty Dukes of Wellington, against the people of England? For myself, my motto has always been, '*Sæpe pro rege, semper pro patria.*' Such I have

been, such am I now, the devoted and very humble servant of the people of Westminster.

"FRANCIS BURDETT."

The commissioners' paper, the *Morning Chronicle*, under the control of *pis-aller* PARKES and company, calls this letter "*jesuitical*," and calls the writer of it, a person on whom, "of late years, *from some cause or other*, little reliance is to be placed as to his judgment." It is very curious that I in this case happen to jump in judgment with the baronet. Sir FRANCIS had the judgment to oppose the Poor-law "*Amendment*" Bill, at its first bringing in, though illness, it appears, kept him away during the after-discussions on that bill. It is a strange thing, at first blush, that Sir FRANCIS should see the matter in so very different a light from that in which it is seen by *pis-aller* PARKES. This may be explained, however, by observing, that Sir FRANCIS may have about a hundred and fifty farmers, and other tenants in market towns and villages; and these employ probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred, or two thousand working men; while, if *pis-aller* PARKES have a court or a garden, ten feet by ten, it is probably as much as he has. These things have a considerable influence on the "*judgment*."

Now, then, Sir FRANCIS is perfectly right in saying that neither the Duke of WELLINGTON, nor any other man can do us any harm, if we do our duty in returning proper members to the House of Commons. I do not think the aristocracy were wise in limiting the suffrage by the Reform Bill; but, I think with Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, that the liberties of the people must be now destroyed by themselves; by their own rashness, or by their own supineness, if they be destroyed at all, or even if they be diminished. I ask, with him, what is the army with twenty Dukes of WELLINGTON against the people of England? And I say, with him, "Let us only act upon knowledge, not upon surmise; and act steadily, resolutely, and ra-

"tionally." I well remember his famous letter to the people of England upon the occasion of the MANCHESTER slaughter. This letter is in perfect accordance with it, of which I expressed my admiration at the time, notwithstanding some circumstances that might have restrained me. This present letter has nothing doublefaced in it; and it by no means gives countenance to the insinuation of that feebleness in point of judgment, which these hungry and greedy commissioners ascribe to Sir FRANCIS BURDETT. The truth is, that Sir FRANCIS sees the state of the country; and if he does cast a thought on his hundred and fifty tenants, and their numerous labourers, I hope that *pis-aller* PARKES will have the goodness to excuse him.

COVENTRY ELECTION.

EVERY one that knows me, knows that I was extremely anxious that Mr. WILLIAMS should be in the first reformed Parliament, knowing him to be a man of great knowledge, with regard to commercial, and to all public affairs; knowing him to be a man of great talent, great zeal in circumstances that place him above all temptation to do wrong; knowing him to be a sincere reformer of all abuses, and knowing him to have courage equal to his integrity. *My colleagye* has the same opinion of him, and he knows him well. Therefore, I must naturally be now very desirous to see him a member for COVENTRY, to the electors of which place he delivered a long and very able speech last Monday, which appeared to give universal satisfaction. I shall insert this speech in my next, and I should have inserted it now, only the report of it did not reach me soon enough. There will, however, be plenty of time, for I cannot bring myself to believe that the dissolution is so very near at hand, such a measure being so manifestly impolitic. In the meanwhile, I am quite satisfied, that Mr. WILLIAMS's diligence, together with his frankness and unflinching character, will give him a seat in the new Parliament, whenever it shall come.

TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE
SOUTHERN DIVISION OF STAFFORD-
SHIRE.

Wolseley, 17. Dec., 1834.

GENTLEMEN,—The time being, probably, at hand, when you will have to exercise the important right and the most sacred duty of choosing men to represent you in Parliament, I avail myself of this opportunity of addressing you upon the subject. It is the duty of every man, be he in what state of life he may, to do every thing that in him lies, which he thinks to be for the good of his country. But, on the OWNERS OF THE LAND, this duty presses with more than ordinary force; for, as SIR FRANCIS BURDETT observed, in his memorable letter to the people of England, in 1819, "*they hold their estates in trust for the benefit of the millions of their countrymen,*" who have not been so fortunate themselves; and if they owe this duty to their countrymen in general, they owe it in a more particular manner to the FARMERS and the LABOURERS, without whose care and whose toil their lands would be nothing worth.

Moved, gentlemen, by these feelings of duty, as well as by those equally strong feelings of friendship and regard so natural in me towards the farmers, the tradesmen, and the working people of my native county, I offer myself for your choice, as one of your representatives, in this interesting crisis of our country's affairs. Up to this time, for many ages past, we have seen the fruits of our inheritances, and of our cares and labours, unjustly snatched from our hands by one of two factions, who have had the power, alternately, to take from us and to enjoy, or to squander, those fruits; and, gentlemen, it was great delight to me, at the end of more than twenty years' striving (not without great loss and suffering) to put an end to this system of spoliation: it was great delight to me to see something come even in the name of REFORM.

But, gentlemen, numerous as were the efforts which I made in this cause;

numerous as were the petitions and other documents, to which I was a party, never was it heard or seen, in any thing said or done by me, that it was the mere NAME; that it was the six letters R, E, F, O, R, M, placed in that particular order, that I, and those who co-operated with me, were so anxious to see in use. We wanted a reform of the Parliament, in order that we might choose the members ourselves; and we wanted to choose them ourselves, that we might instruct them to pass laws that would redress our grievances, and particularly laws that would take the intolerable burden of taxes from our shoulders.

But, gentlemen, what was my disappointment, what my grief, what my indignation, at finding that, instead of this, this pretended reformed Parliament, led on by the unfaithful servants recently so justly and so wisely dismissed by his Majesty; to find that, by this oppressive body, every attempt to relieve us from our burdens was treated not only with neglect, but with scorn; that, while the measures adopted by their predecessors and themselves conjointly had reduced the price of the produce of the land one-half in amount, that produce was still compelled to pay the full amount to pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, fundholders, and all those who are paid out of the taxes; to find, that, when the House had resolved to reduce the malt-tax one-half, it shamefully obeyed the voice of the Minister, and, at his command, rescinded that vote; to find, that instead of adopting measures to give the farmer the means of employing and paying his labourers as formerly, and thereby lessening the amount of the poor-rates, this reformed Parliament passed a law to grind and insult the poor, in order to prevent them from demanding relief.

Gentlemen, I will not tire you with an enumeration of the evils into which we have been plunged from not having had representatives faithful to their trust. You know the state in which we are, and the dangers which now threaten us, as well as I do. If you do me the honour to return me at the en-

suing election, I trust that my past life renders it unnecessary for me to say, that, at all risks, at all sacrifices, you will find a man that will never flinch from his duty in

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,
CHARLES WOLSELEY.

MR. COBBETT'S SPEECH,

ON HIS MOTION FOR AN ABOLITION OF THE MALT-TAX.

My readers are aware that I have, for many years, contended that this tax was the most mischievous thing existing in the country; and, being in Parliament, they would naturally expect that I should do my utmost to get it repealed and abolished. I did my utmost, during the last session of Parliament; and I am now about to lay before my readers in general, and my constituents in particular, an account of what has been done, as to this matter, during the present session of Parliament, and particularly the part which I have taken in the discussions relative to it.

On the 27. Feb. Sir William Ingilby made a motion for the House to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider whether there ought to be a repeal, partial and entire, of this mischief-doing tax. I spoke upon that occasion, against the further continuance of the tax; but I did not vote, because the motion was not direct, and because it was not positive as to a repeal of the whole of the tax. There was, upon that occasion, a division, when there were 170 for the motion, and 271 against it.

Things standing thus, and I, seeing the ground all forestalled until the 27. of May, gave notice that I would make a motion on that day, for a repeal of the whole of that tax; but, upon further consideration, I withdrew that notice, and fixed the notice for a similar motion on the 17. of March, to be made upon the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply. My motion was "*Resolved, that it is expedient, that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and de-*

"*termine.*" This motion I made on the 17. of March; and this motion was decided in the manner hereafter to be described. It would be irksome to myself, as well as to my readers, for me to be in the habit of reporting my own speeches in the *Register*; but, this is a subject of such vast importance, that I gave as correct a report as I could of the speech made upon this occasion. I here insert my speech, giving it as much accuracy as my memory will enable me to do it, with the assistance of the reports in the newspapers.

Mr. COBBETT: Mr. Speaker, I rise to submit a motion to the House, for the total repeal of the malt-tax, which motion is in the following words: "Resolved, that it is expedient that from and after the 5. of October next, all the duties on malt shall cease and *termine.*"

Certainly, sir, such a motion ought not to be submitted to the House, without reasons given for the measure of which it proposes the adoption; and yet, to give those reasons will require the consumption of a much larger portion of the time of the House, than I shall like to call upon it to bestow; but, when duty bids me to proceed, and reluctance to occupy the time of the House would draw me back, I feel myself under the necessity of obeying the former.

Before I proceed to the reasons which I deem more than sufficient for the total repeal of this tax, it is my duty to endeavour to remove two very gross and mischievous errors, which from what we have heard recently in this House, appear to me to be generally prevalent throughout the country; or, at least, amongst almost the whole of those who are prominent in discussing political affairs.

The first of these errors is, that the landlords, the farmers, and all the persons immediately concerned in the cultivation of the land, would be exclusively benefited by the repeal of these duties; and that the inhabitants of towns are very little interested in the matter; that they have an interest in the repeal of the house and window-tax, but that they

have scarcely any interest at all in the repeal of this tax; that the tax being taken off, the honourable Member for Bridport recently told us, would only be so much money put into the pockets of the landlords, who would be the sole persons that would gain by the change.

An error so monstrous as this, has scarcely ever found its way into the human mind. What, sir! do not the people in towns, and, particularly, the hard-working people in towns, drink beer? And, is not their beer made of malt, as well as the beer of the country-people? The fact is, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be greatly more beneficial to the tradesmen and workmen in towns, than the repeal of the house and window-tax, both put together. Seldom do working people pay any part of the house-tax or window-tax; but the malt-tax lies heavily on them all, causing their beer, which is absolutely necessary to them, to cost more than twice as much as it would cost if there were no tax upon malt. Further, nineteen twentieths of the tradesmen, though they may pay from three pounds to twelve pounds a year, on account of house and window-tax, pay, on an average, a great deal more on account of the malt-tax.

This gross error is, then, backed up by another, if possible still more gross; namely, that the persons owning, occupying, labouring upon, and deriving their subsistence out of, the land, are a mere nothing in number, compared with those who are employed in manufactures, trade, and commerce, and, especially, in manufactures. The right honourable Member for Manchester has called upon us to thank God, that England was the great manufacturing shop of the world; the noble Lord, who is one of the representatives of the West-riding of Yorkshire, calls those who are hostile to the corn-laws, the body of the people; the honourable Member for Middlesex has told us, that this is now a manufacturing nation, and that England was poor before it was a manufacturing nation. I wish, sir, that the honourable Member for Middlesex had drawn a little upon his store-house of knowledge, and had named the time when England was

poor, and when she was not a manufacturing nation. I state, sir, without fear of contradiction from that honourable Member or any other, that England was always the richest, and always the most manufacturing nation in the world.

The ground-work of this great error with regard to the number engaged in the different pursuits, are and have been for many years, the population returns, laid before this House, which, by reckoning all persons as manufacturers, traders, &c., except the mere occupiers and workers upon the land; that is to say, except the mere husbandmen, the ploughmen, the reapers, the mowers, the thrashers, and woodmen; by considering all these as not belonging to agriculture, have led to the conclusion that the husbandmen and all belonging to the land, are a mere handful, compared with the rest of the community. I can give an instance with regard to the village of BOTLEY, a village in Hampshire, with which I am well acquainted. The return states, that there are fifty-five families belonging to agriculture, forty-four to manufactures, trade, &c., and thirty-five of all other sorts. Now I take upon me to assert, that there is not a soul in that parish, who is not either husbandman, miller, or tanner; the miller to grind the corn; the tanner to dress the hides; or parson or doctor; the parson collects the great and small tithes of the parish, and he lives upon them; the doctor bleeds and sets the bones of the husbandmen; and as to other sorts of persons, there are none, who are not employed in purchasing the produce of the land, or in selling clothing or other necessities, to those who raise that produce.

To the parishes of THURSLEY and WHITLEY, in Surrey, are ascribed eighty-three families, engaged in trade, manufactures, commerce, &c. If the hon. Member for West Surrey were in his place, who lives in one of those parishes, which are united by law, I would ask him, what sort of manufacture these eighty-three families carry on; from what foreign country they receive the raw material upon which they work; to what foreign country they export the

produce of their looms or their other ingenious contrivances? Sir, these returns make up a mass of fallacies such as never were before heard of in the world: in these two parishes, there is not a single soul (except, perchance, there may be a fundholder or two) who is not either husbandman, wheelwright, blacksmith, carpenter, butcher, or who does not follow some pursuit or other, immediately connected with the land; not a soul who could live upon the spot for a week, if there were no produce arising out of the produce of the land of those two parishes.

But, sir, there is one instance which is quite conclusive as to this point; and the matter can be settled at once, by only three words from an hon. Member whom I see sitting on the opposite benches. There is a parish in Surrey called Wanborough, and the return tells us that it contains twenty families chiefly employed in agriculture, and one family chiefly employed in commerce, manufactures, &c. Now, sir, there sits the hon. Member for Guildford, in Surrey; he is the sole proprietor of all the houses and all the land in this parish of Wanborough; and I call upon him to have the goodness to tell us whether this family of manufacturers have any connexion with foreign parts, or whether their manufacture consists in making or new laying of ploughshares for his farms, and of shoes for the horses which work upon those farms! Short-sighted; indeed, must that man be, who cannot see far enough to know, that these manufacturers are husbandmen in fact, just as much as those who plough and reap and mow and thrash out the corn. Yet these ridiculous fallacies have led to the mischievous conclusions which we have heard in this House; they have led the right hon. Member for Manchester to tell us that there are nine hundred thousand families only; belonging to the land, while there are fourteen hundred thousand families belonging to manufactures and trade.

The hon. Member for Marybone has frequently asserted the great populousness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when

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The hon. Member for Maryhonne has frequently asserted the great populousness of the borough which he has the honour to represent; and, when

speaking of what he has been pleased to call the oppression of the corn laws, he has invariably represented his numerous constituents as having an interest distinct and independent, relative to the part of the community, immediately and obviously concerned in the land. The returns tell us, that there are, in the borough of MARYBONNE, a hundred and forty-three persons, chiefly employed in agriculture; that is to say, in the gardens and the hay-fields, which lie on the outskirts of the borough or parish; but is this all? I verily believe, that I speak very far within compass, when I say that there are a thousand families; and I think I might say, thousands of families, all the males of which are employed, and solely employed, in making and selling ploughs, harrows, drags, drills, chaff-cutters, butter-churns, cheese-presses, spades, prongs, rakes, sieves, locks, and other implements, tools and necessities for husbandry. Were there no husbandry, these people would not be in the borough of Marybonne; and were the land to produce nothing to send up rents into the fine streets and the squares, what would become of the tradesmen of Marybonne? And look, sir, over the whole of this metropolis: look at the seedsmen, the salesmen of meat, the lightermen that bring up the corn, the multitudes whose centre is at Mark-lane; the hop-merchants and their people; look at all these, and imagine, if you can, the extent of the madness, or, rather, the blindness and absurdity of those who would attempt to designate any part of the people as not having an interest in agriculture.

But, if these gentlemen will insist upon the separation, I will face them, even with the admission of their own absurdity to be sense; and I will take the statement contained in the summary of even these fallacious returns. What says this summary? why this: that the male occupiers and labourers in agriculture, twenty years of age and upwards, are *one million and seventy-five thousand*; and that male persons of the same age engaged in manufactures, &c., are *three hundred and twenty thousand*.

Thus, then, if I were to adopt that erroneous view of the matter, according to which the malt-tax is considered as a burden to nobody but persons belonging to agriculture, I should say that there were three for one, at any rate, and that therefore they were worthy of our particular consideration. I, however, scout this idea as unworthy of the mind of a man of sense: I say that all are equally interested; and as such I must speak of them as likely to be benefited by the adoption of the measure which I have had the honour to propose to the House. In stating the reasons which I have to offer for the adoption of that measure, I must first observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of any partiality of pressure which it has; because I am fully aware, that every tax, lay it where you will, finds its way, first or last, to every person in the community. I must further observe, that I do not object to the tax on account of its money weight; because, if the tax be wanted to carry on the affairs of the Government; and if it be collected at something near the ordinary expense of collection, and being unproductive of any mischiefs beyond those arising out of its mere burden, money burden, it would be improper to propose its repeal. But, sir, if a tax be, as I contend this tax is, peculiar as to its expenses of collection; and if it be productive of great moral evils, then it ought not to remain, even if a property-tax or a poll-tax were necessary, to be imposed in its stead; and I think myself capable of proving to the House, that this tax is of this description, and that therefore it ought to be repealed. I beg it to be observed, that I urge not the repeal as peculiarly beneficial to the landlord or the farmer. As consumers of malt, they would share in the benefit with the rest of the community; as great sufferers from the immoralities produced by this tax, they would certainly derive an extraordinary degree of benefit; but in this benefit the rest of the community must necessarily share, though their share might not be so obvious. It is impossible for the morals of millions of working people to be mended without

the effect being felt in every part and by every person of the community.

The **FIRST** objection to this tax is, the extraordinary expense of collecting and managing it. I hold in my hand a statement, which I received last year from a gentleman at Nottingham, many years in the excise; and he proves, to my satisfaction, that five-sixths of the expenses of the whole of the excise establishment may be fairly ascribed to the malt-tax. Now, I have no means immediately at hand for ascertaining how much the whole of the expenses of the excise establishment is annually. At a guess I should say it amounted to a million of money or more; so that, to begin with, here is a million to be paid out of five millions and a half, before the money comes into the Exchequer. I believe this to be the fact; but the noble Lord can correct me here, if I be in error. At any rate, we know that the expense is very great; much greater than the collection of any other tax or taxes, to three times the gross amount; and, therefore, this is a good objection to the tax. In the case of the stamps, for instance, all that the people pay goes into the Exchequer, except a mere trifle, comparatively speaking. The six millions cost only 168,000*l.* in the collection and management, while here are five millions and a half cost, as I believe, pretty nearly or quite a million in the collection and management. The **SECOND** and still greater objection is, the monopoly which the tax necessarily gives rise to. Upon the same authority, which I have just mentioned, I state to the House these astounding facts; that, taking barley at twenty-eight shillings a quarter, and suppose four millions of quarters, which is about the quantity, the amount of such barley would be five millions six hundred thousand pounds; that eight quarters of barley make nine quarters of malt, and that this increase pays all the expenses of malting. So that the four millions of quarters of barley made into malt, would, were it not for the tax, cost the people five millions six hundred thousand pounds in the year: that the duty, this, would make the cost nine

millions seven hundred thousand pounds a year; but that, in consequence of the monopoly, created by the tax, the malt, before the result of it reaches the lips of the people, either by private brewing or public brewing, does cost the people fourteen millions four hundred thousand pounds a year, instead of costing them five millions six hundred thousand pounds a year. When, a few evenings ago, I stated the price of malt at 8*s.* a bushel, an hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets produced a Mark-late account, showing, that large quantities of it had been sold that week at about six and sixpence a bushel; but I spoke of the price of malt as I could get it for my use. The tax enables men with large capital to get the malt at a price at which men for private brewing cannot get it. And here I beg leave to refer to a part of the evidence taken before the beer-shop committee of last year. Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate of Berkshire, stated to the committee, that there was a beer-shop set up by a very respectable man in his own parish; that this man bought his beer of a brewer, until the beer which he brewed himself should have attained a proper age; and that then he sold his own beer:—
 “But the brewer thought it so good,
 “a thing that he set up another beer-
 “shop in the parish; and he can brew
 “it so much cheaper than the publican
 “who has to go to a dealer in malt and
 “buy it at 9*s.* 6*d.* a bushel, when the
 “brewer can make it at about 6*s.* 3*d.*,
 “that the publican cannot compete with
 “him; and the second beer-house being
 “set up, the man that set up the other
 “was obliged to give it up after the
 “first twelvemonth, and to leave the
 “brewer’s beer-house in the parish.”

Mr. EDWARD GREEN, who is a maltster, but also a farmer, of WARGRAVE, in Berkshire, gave the committee this information: “If there is so much advantage attending brewing, how is it that the ale-houses sell brewers’ beer? There are very few of them that have capital enough to buy their malt at the first hand; I could now furnish malt at 6*s.* 3*d.* a bushel; and our poor people,

"if they go to buy malt retail of a maltster, are charged 8s. 6d."

Mr. Stock, a brewer of Essex, gave the following information: "What is the cost of your malt to you?—*Fifty-two shillings a quarter, covering every expense.*—What have you given for your barley?—The highest price of our barley has been 30s. to 35s., and the lowest is 24s."

But, after all, no one stated any of the grounds for believing that this monopoly arose directly out of the tax. One of its effects, however, I will state to the House. The malt-duty is paid in every six weeks. A man possessed of apparent great means can obtain bondsmen, to a certain amount, for the payment of the duty; and in this case, the collector permits the maltster to be three collections in arrear, while the maltster with small means is compelled to pay up. The man who has the benefit of the first, is enabled to enter largely into business, and the greater his duty the more he injures society in the end. In numerous instances, these large maltsters have been known to crush the little ones entirely; and thus it is that the malt-houses, formerly so numerous, are now become comparatively very few in number. I remember that at Stow-on-the-Wold I learned, that formerly there were fourteen malt-houses, and that now there is only one. In the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, there used to be a malt-house in almost every village. The monopoly created by this tax, has demolished, perhaps, nineteen out of every twenty. Large brewers are also maltsters. The monopolists, in fact, carry on their trade with *public money*; they have always two collections in their hands to carry on their trade with: so that the people are placed at their mercy, and so placed, too, by the use of the people's own money, which they have paid for the services of the state, and which is allowed to be kept in the hands of these monopolists. It is not, then, the tax itself, but the evils that arise out of the tax at every step that it takes; and here, on account of this monopoly alone, the people pay, as I have, I think, very clearly shown, four millions seven hun-

dred thousand pounds a year; which is an evil, an injustice, an oppression, arising entirely out of the tax. If I be asked, what become of all the capital now employed by these monopolists in this way? I answer, in the first place, that it is the people's capital in great part, as I have just shown; and, in the next place, if the monopolists have any capital, which is really their own, there is the least harm done; there is lawful commerce; there are plenty of honest means for the profitable employment of this capital,

The third objection to this tax is, that it prevents people, and particularly the poorer part of the people, from brewing beer in their own houses, and thereby drives them to beer-shops, and other places of resort, for the purpose of getting beer, a drink which they ought to have which they always have had, and which, let gentlemen think or say or do what they may, they always will have.

I know it has been contended, that the poorer sort of people have been so long in the habit of brewing at their own houses, that they would not take to it again, even if this tax were taken off, and if they could get the malt for a mere trifle, as they then would. It is a great mistake to suppose that this is one of those cases in which habit becomes second nature. In morals and in manners, there is great submission to the power of habit. Early rising, late rising, sobriety, drunkenness, love of ease, love of activity; in these and numerous other instances, habit has a great deal to do in determining the conduct of men; but, when you come to eating and drinking, when you come to the means of providing a bellyful, the case is wholly different. When you are withheld from any natural enjoyment by force, you return to it the moment the force is removed. From having constantly a plenty to eat, you may, by compulsion, be confined to a quarter of a meal, for years together; but when the full meal returns, you instantly take it, without consideration had of the small quantity of food upon which you have recently lived. For a long time the labourers have been compelled do without the bits of bacon in their pot; but, does any

man imagine, that, if they had the bits of bacon again, they would not boil them and eat them? But it is said, that they want the utensils for brewing; said, indeed, only by those who cannot know any thing at all about the matter. It was asked, by the committee of last year, whether the utensils could not be had for a few shillings? There are no utensils wanting, but those which they have. A gallon of malt can be brewed in a porridge-pot which will hold five gallons of water; and twelve quarts of good beer I have seen made out of a gallon of malt in that very way. It is a great mistake to suppose that there require large quantities of malt to be brewed together, in order to get the greatest porportion of strength. Malt is, in this respect, like tea: whether you put little or much of the latter into the pot, you get all the strength out of it in one case as well as in the other, and it is strong or weak in proportion to the quantity of water as compared with the quantity of tea. As to the expense, in the case of the labourer, it is absolutely nothing at all. The old maxim was "if you would have good beer, you must go to bed with your brewer." The wife is the brewer; the very cheerful undertaker of this part of the duty of the family: she likes the beer herself better than water: and she has the other most powerful motive, that of keeping her husband at home. In support of these, my opinions, the House will permit me to read the evidence given by several persons, before the Beer-Bill Committee of last year. At the head of these stands Mr. SIMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire, who, in order to be able to lay accurate opinions upon the subject before the committee, sent a circular to the overseers and ministers of fifteen parishes; and the answer of all, except one, was, that the cure for the evils of beer-shops, and the greatest possible advantage to the country, would be, to enable the poor people to make their malt, and to brew at home. The evidence of these gentlemen, every word of which is worthy of the best attention of the House, was in the following words:

Mr. SIMON, a magistrate for Oxfordshire and Berkshire. The last question is, "Would great advantages result from enabling the poor people to make their malt and brew at home, both as regards their comfort and morality?"—That is the most important question of all. The answers are, *fourteen parties say it would be highly desirable*; one fears it might lead the labourers to steal barley.

"Are those answers indiscriminately the answers of the overseers and ministers of the different parishes, or is there any difference of opinion between the ministers and the overseers?—I should say that generally they all agree in their accounts. I believe that the answers are indiscriminately the same from the ministers and from the overseers.

"Are the answers from the overseers and the ministers jointly or separately?—Separately: the application was made separately to each of them, and neither knew that the other had an application to the best of my knowledge."

Mr. GOODLAKE, a magistrate for Berkshire.—"Did the cottagers brew beer in consequence of that public-house being put down?—No; cottagers have not an opportunity of brewing beer, on account of the *high price of malt*."

Colonel BLAGRAVE, magistrate for Berkshire.—"Do you contemplate the absolute necessity of taking away the power of selling beer in this manner?—I think it would be a dangerous measure, without the *repeal of the malt-tax*, and the tax again put upon the beer: I think if the tax were put upon the beer and the *malt-tax repealed*, it would induce the lower class of people to brew their own beer."

"Will you state why, without that alteration, you think it would be dangerous to repeal the present beer bill?—Because I think it has tended to increase the price of barley, and to give a little filip to agriculture."

"Do you think that it has any effect in checking the consumption of spirits, and giving the lower orders

"an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits?—*I think the lower orders have had an inclination to drink beer rather than spirits*; but it has been reported to me, that smuggled spirits have been introduced into those beer-houses, but to my knowledge I do not know it.

"Do you think that the greater facility of drinking beer has rather conducted to encourage the love of beer than the love of spirits?—I think it has, and the lower order of people have an idea that beer is much more wholesome for them."

BREDE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"Had the malt duty been taken off, the agricultural labourer would have had his beer at home, and we think he would seldom be seen at the beer-shop; small-beer is the natural beverage of the labourers in agriculture; at once the most nutritious, the most wholesome, and the best support to the labourer, being part of the subsistence for the production of his physical powers, to enable him to perform a fair day's work."

HOOE (Sussex) Parish Vestry.—"We are decidedly of opinion if the malt duty had been repealed, it would have been far preferable to the beer."

PLAYDEN (Sussex), Parish Vestry.—"We also beg to observe that the abolition of the malt duty would have had a far more beneficial effect upon the habits and morals of the labouring class."

There was, indeed, one witness, who gave a different opinion, and that was Mr. THURNALL of Cambridgeshire, but he is a great maltster. His evidence was as follows: "Do you, or do you not believe, if the malt-duty was taken off so as to enable every man to brew at home, that the evils complained of would be greatly reduced, and a better morality amongst the poor be obtained?—I do not think it is possible for the labourer to brew his own beer; *I am not sure they would not in my county; in the first place he could brew so small a quantity, and there are very few cottages where the whole house is above the*

size of this room; he is not furnished with a copper; it is totally impossible for a labourer to brew his beer in the districts I have been in.

"How was it done formerly, do you know?—Persons brewed their own beer, but I should think not a tithe of the population brewed; but their habits have altogether altered.

"Is it not a serious thing for a poor man if he brews a quantity of beer, and that beer turns sour?—Yes.

"He avoids that risk, does he not, by purchasing his beer?—Undoubtedly.

"You are aware that a brewing apparatus would cost to a poor man only 5s.?—I am aware it would cost a small sum: but half of them would not be sober while the beer lasted; they would drink it in a day."

[Mr. CHILDERS, a member for Cambridgeshire, observed, that I had read only a part of the evidence of this man; that this man was his tenant, and a very respectable man. It is very true, that I read only a part, and I cited the evidence merely to contradict the notion of the habits of the people having changed. If I did not read the whole, it was merely to save time; and if the orders of the House would have permitted me to reply, I should have observed, that Mr. CHILDERS left out, in his reading, the first of the two notes which will be found in the second member of the first sentence of the answers of this witness. I believe that Mr. CHILDERS gave the correct meaning of the witness, but that meaning is just the contrary of that which is found in the print; for, in the print the witness is made to say, that he is not sure that the labourer would not brew his own beer; and Mr. CHILDERS made him say, that he was sure that he would not brew it: the context shows that Mr. CHILDERS's reading was correct, but not according with the evidence reported by the committee. If I could have replied, I should have answered the opinion of this man, that not a third of the people formerly brewed their own beer, by citing the positive evidence given by Mr. JOHN ELLMAN, before the committee of 1821,

"that when he became a farmer, forty-five years before that, every man in his parish had his own beer; and enjoyed it by his own fire-side"; and that this evidence was then corroborated by a magistrate of Somersetshire, and by a gentleman who was then sheriff of Wiltshire. I did not like to waste time, as I never do, setting a very high value on time myself, or I should have observed, on the latter part of the evidence of this witness, the tenant of Mr. CHILDERS, who tells us, in one breath, that the labourer's beer "would turn sour," and in the next breath, "that he would drink it in a day"! However, no observation from me was necessary here; a general smile in the House showed that they smelled out the maltster, and rendered any reply to Mr. CHILDERS wholly unnecessary.]

In short, sir, I am satisfied that there is no argument to be offered in support of the belief, that labourers would not again brew their own beer, if this tax were repealed, and wholly abolished; and of all the benefits arising from this change, I defy pen or tongue to give an adequate description. But there would be another great change take place; that is to say, that farmers would have beer to give to their men who work out of their house, or rather to men who are not inmates of the house. On this subject we have the following evidence, taken before the agricultural committee of last year, of Mr. SANDERS of Lancashire, and of Mr. BROWN, a large farmer and a surveyor, of Wiltshire, and this evidence, in the following words, is very worthy of the best attention of the House.

Mr. SANDERS.—"Does not the malt-tax press more immediately on a man who gives beer to his labourers, directly as well as indirectly?—I have no doubt if the malt-tax were removed, it would be a great improvement in his condition."

Mr. RUDELL BROWN.—"Would the labourers in your neighbourhood, if the law were to abolish the beer-shops, and restore only the public-house, be likely to complain?—They would like it quite as well. The

greatest possible relief that could be given to the agricultural labourers, would be by putting on the beer-duty again, and taking off the malt-duty, which would enable them to make or buy small quantities of malt, and brew their own beer.

"Do you not think if that were the case, the farmers would be more ready to give their labourers beer in agricultural districts?—I am quite sure of it; it is nothing but the high duty which has kept them from it; the taking off the beer-duty has been no relief to the agricultural labourer.

"What do you think the people of Devon would say to the putting on the beer-duty again?—Probably if the malt-duty were not taken off at the same time, they would complain; but if the malt-duty were taken off, I am sure they would rejoice.

"Is there, without them, convenience for a labouring man to obtain beer for his dinner?—I have myself given my labourers beer, though it has cost me an immense sum for my malt bill every year; but still I know a man cannot work well without beer, and I wish as much as possible to keep my labourers away from the beer-shops."

The advantage to the farmer, as well as to the labourer, from giving beer instead of money, is of so much importance as hardly to admit of exaggeration in the statement. Every one acquainted with these matters knows well, that, in times of pressing haste, particularly in harvest, a farmer can do more with one pound's worth of beer than with four pounds in money. Money is too far from the lips to produce immediate effect. Then, as to regular hard work in hot weather. Set a company of men to work at mowing: they ask you for beer, and, as is generally the case, you allow them sixpence an acre, or something an acre, in lieu of beer. The hot sun comes and clogs the spittle in their mouths, and draws the sweat from their bodies. Away they go, perhaps a mile, to lay out their sixpence in beer. Being there, they do not stop with the sixpence. Very likely the field does not

see them again for that day: then follows the loss of time, so precious then to the farmer, and they have to thirst for the remainder of the hard work of mowing, or to slake that thirst with water, which communicates weakness instead of strength. Whereas, if they had beer from the farm-house, they would go to the bottles deposited in the hedge, take their drink and return to their work. The beer would be wholesome and strengthening; and it is the deeply-interested master who would then determine the quantity. Mr. RUDDELL BROWN told the committee, that he does this now; but Mr. RUDDELL BROWN is a great farmer, and a rich man: it costs him, he tells the committee, "an immense sum" for malt every year. That immense sum it is not in the power of a common farmer to expend; and, therefore, generally, and almost universally, speaking, hard-working men, and the best of labourers, too, are driven to the beer-shops from this cause; or to some place or other where they have to swallow the adulterated stuff made by the brewers.

Besides all these evils, there is the great evil of evils, the driving of the young people from the farm-houses. Great as the other objections to this tax are, this objection is greater than all the rest put together. This it is, which has been the great cause of the lamentable change which has taken place in the manners and the morals of the working people of England. Every gentleman must know how slender the authority of poor and indulgent parents must necessarily be over young people from the age of twelve years upwards. In proportion as the parents are poor and miserable, in that same proportion, in nature's spite, their authority will be small. To have good grown-up men and women, you must begin the work when they are young. The hand of the poor parent is not strong enough; and if the hand of the parent were strong enough, the heart would not be stout enough, for this work. Besides, there is no room in the cottage for any body but the father and mother and little children. In the farm-house is their proper place

from the age of twelve to that of twenty, or some years more. There there are a master and a mistress, not liable to indulgence on account of kindred; but bound by the law to provide for the parties in sickness and health for the whole year through; bound still more strongly by the most weighty interest, to attend, not only to the good habits and the industry, but to the morals and manners of the young people living under the same roof with themselves. Let gentlemen figure to themselves a parish with a hundred young people, distributed amongst the farm-houses, subjected to the control of masters and mistresses, who, of necessity, will compel them to keep good hours, to rise early, to be diligent during the day, to be cleanly in their persons, to go to church on the Sunday, and who have the magistrates always at hand to punish disobedience of their lawful commands. Then suppose these young people all to be turned out and to be upon their own hands; strolling about on the Sunday, without any regard to the decencies of dress; assembling in groups, either in beer-shops, or out of beer-shops; assemble they will, and whoever saw such an assemblage, without seeing mischief of some sort or other being the ultimate consequence? In short, this is the main cause of that fatal change which has taken place in the manners, the morals, the expertness, and the bodily strength, of the labourers of England; and every man, who is a judge of the matter, knows well, that this has been produced, in very great part, by the heavy expense required to furnish beer for the servants in husbandry; and that this heavy expense arises from the tax upon malt, and solely from that tax, no man will attempt to deny. This evil is so great, that, unless it can be removed, all hope of restoring the country to a state of good morals and happiness, and even of safety, may be abandoned at once in despair. The right hon. Member for MANCHESTER drew an astounding picture of the awful consequences of rejecting the proposition for an alteration of the corn laws. He seems to have thought little of the present really awful situation of those

who are concerned in the cultivation of the land. But I trust that this House will have that situation constantly in its mind, till it has done its best to restore content to the labouring millions, and restored something like peace and security to the property and the dwelling of the farmer; and, sir, I am perfectly satisfied that nothing would so powerfully assist in the accomplishing of this, so desirable an object, as the adoption of the motion which I now have the honour to submit to the House.

Gladly would I see the work performed by the noble Lord and his colleagues. Then, indeed, would the Government have strength; for then it would become dear to the hearts of the whole people. The honourable Gentlemen seem as firmly fixed now as is the seat upon which they are; but this measure would fix them firmly as the hills.

AMERICAN CURRENCY QUESTION.

(From the New York Evening Post).

"Damn them, they (the working men of America) shall starve or have bank-notes: we will pay some of them, when they are hungry, and they will shoot at the rest, and make them submit quietly to a government fit for a gentleman to live under."

I see by a late London paper, that the threat quoted above was uttered by an American promise-maker in that city, in February last. It might have escaped him in a moment of passion, or been designed merely to curry favour with his superior on 'Change; yet it will be well to look at the position of the bank leaders, and see whether they have not already started on the course indicated above.

The object of the alias party is to perpetuate what Daniel Webster, not three years ago, styled "a contrivance for cheating the labouring classes of mankind" with paper-money.

The present is, therefore, a contest between those who wish to live by useful labour, and those who wish to live by lending out promises at interest.

It is well known that a set of legalized black-legs, in and about Lombard-street and the London Royal Exchange, have managed by the help of bits of paper called "notes," "stocks," "consols," &c. &c., to get control of most of the wealth of Europe, to reduce a large portion of the working classes to rags and hunger, and to convert their governments into mere sponges for sucking up the substance of the people.

These same legalized black-legs have for many years, and under many different disguises, been engaged in introducing the same system here. Their immense wealth has enabled them to corrupt and overawe our press, and to bribe or intimidate much of the fairest of the country.

Our present administration has declared open war against these gentry, who regard all mankind as lawful prey; and that it has shown a degree of skill and courage that I, for one, hardly expected to witness. The United States Bank is the chief artery through which these foreign leeches drew off our life-blood; and in cutting this artery, Andrew Jackson struck what may happily prove a death-blow to the monied aristocracy of the whole world. The late unexampled importations of specie show that he has bled the bleeders; and their deadly struggles prove that they think their case dangerous.

But the battle is not yet over; and as it is a strife of life or death with "him who next to Satansits, proud Mammon," we must be prepared for the worst acts that can be devised by villany or meanness. The people have not forgotten the attempts of last winter to derange our business, and they can never forget the infamous attempts to inflict death by starvation on the working classes for voting against their would-be masters. The tools and parasites of the stock gamblers will go on as they have begun. They will endeavour to exclude from the polls all who cannot afford to lose a day to get their names registered; they will, with a view to "divide and plunder," strive incessantly to form society into hostile casts; by artfully fomenting riots, (all the blame of which

will fall upon the poor), they will gradually introduce a set of men here, as they have in England, whose trade it is to "preserve order" and cut men's throats for hire; and then comes "a government fit for a gentleman to live under."

Such is the influence we have to fight against; and we will conquer. Let us answer those who have sought to starve us into subjection, by placing on the democratic ticket at least one man who lives by manual labour. Let us remember our own wrongs, and the wrongs heaped by the power we oppose upon the sons of toil in Europe; and relax not our own efforts until the monster breathes its last.

The issue of the contest now going on will influence the destiny of our race for a long succession of centuries. The war of our revolution was a war against the instruments of tyranny; but Andrew Jackson has grappled with the power that animates and directs those instruments; and if he lives to fulfil his destiny, he will have set his name upon the firmament, and made it dear to all human kind for ever. Let us show ourselves worthy of our leader, and worthy of our cause.

A LABOURER.

RESOLUTIONS,

Adopted at a Meeting of Mechanics, and other working Men, opposed to all the Monopolies, and in favour of the measures of Administration, for restoring the Constitutional Currency, convened at Tammany Hall on the evening of October the 8.; James Connor, chairman.

Whereas, we the mechanics, artisans, and other working men of the city of New York, having long viewed with alarm the growth of a powerful monied aristocracy in our country, and finding at the present time, that the influence of wealth is actually arrayed in deadly hostility to the government of the people's choice, feel ourselves imperiously called upon to come forward and express the sentiments and principles by which we are actuated in the present eventful

crisis in our political affairs, and at the same time solemnly to declare our decided opposition to every species of monopoly, and our fixed determination to preserve and hand down to our posterity unimpaired, those rights and liberties which have been bequeathed to us by the wisdom of sages and the blood of heroes, and maintain in all their original purity, that constitution and those laws which have rendered America the glory and hope of the lovers of freedom in every clime.

And whereas the pretended Whigs of recent date having, like the imps of the spirit of darkness, assumed the appearance of "Angels of Light" by now making great professions of sympathy for our wrongs, and friendship for our interests, as regards state-prison labour, imprisonment for debt, militia laws, &c., while they are evading the great and important question of the United States Bank—require from us an assurance that we are fully aware of the cheat, and are well convinced that any expectations of benefit to us from such a party, would in the end prove all a deceit,

"Like Dead Sea fruits that tempt the eye,
"But turn to ashes on the lips;"

therefore,

Resolved, That the declaration of independence, the corner-stone of our republican form of Government, expressly states that "all men are born free and with certain unalienable rights," and the constitution of our country being plainly designed by the sages and philosophers who framed it, to maintain justice and equal rights to all, and to grant exclusive favours to none; therefore we are decidedly of opinion that our state and general governments have no power to grant any man, or body of men, the privilege of doing wrong, nor can legally restrain any citizen from doing that which is right; consequently, all chartered monopolies are direct and palpable infringements on the true spirit and genius of our institutions; and the whole system ought as speedily as possible to be abrogated.

Resolved, That we view with feelings of the most intense interest, the great and absorbing question, now pending

between the democracy of our country, and the United States Bank and its adherents, on the issue of which are involved the dearest privileges of freemen; and that we hereby pledge ourselves to use all honourable exertions, in sustaining our patriotic chief magistrate in the measures he has hitherto adopted in relation to that institution.

Resolved, That our opposition to a United States Bank, is not confined to the present odious and corrupt monopoly, bearing that name; but that we are warmly and decidedly opposed to a national bank in any shape, and will hold the man who shall first propose one, as an enemy to the liberties of his country, a traitor to the constitution, and a foe to oppressed humanity.

Resolved, That we have too much confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the democratic working men of our country, to suppose that they can be duped by the flimsy artifice of the opposition, in disclaiming their attachment to the United States Bank, and denying that it is a question before the people at the ensuing election, when it is emphatically one of the most important, that the American people have ever been called upon to decide, viz. "bank or no bank."

Resolved, That among the few powers delegated to Congress by the people, is the power "to coin money" and to "regulate the value thereof," which power having been so delegated, cannot legally be exercised by the states without an alteration of the constitution.

Resolved, That our chartered banks for issuing paper-money are not only subversive of that fundamental principle of the democratic party, equal rights, but from their very nature become fatal to the freedom of elections and the purity of legislation, destructive to the permanent prosperity and happiness of the people; and while their miserable substitutes are driving from the country the only money known to the constitution, they form at the same time an irresponsible taxing power, drawing more from the people of the United States than the whole amount of

the national revenue; we do therefore trust, that hereafter no bank charter will be either granted or renewed, in the republican state of New York.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to our fellow working men and democratic republicans throughout the United States to oppose the further existence of the banks, and to adopt the plan of prohibiting the circulation of small notes, as the only means that will enable them to retain the constitutional currency; as, without its adoption, in a few years the country will be overwhelmed with a flood of irredeemable paper; general bankruptcy ensue; and the enemies of human liberty again be furnished with a plausible pretext for reviving the reign of corruption under some new scheme of a national bank.

Resolved, That the trade or art of any mechanic, being his actual property, the government of the state has no more right to infringe on it than they have to deprive him of his houses or lands; therefore, the employment of convicts at mechanical branches in the state prisons, is a direct violation of our rights, and calculated to degrade us in the scale of society.

Resolved, That William L. Marcy, for the prompt manner in which he entered into the views of the mechanics, in relation to the state-prison monopoly, and the assiduity with which he laboured to assist them in the procuring the passage of the law authorising an investigation of the subject, the preliminary step to its abolition, deserves our warm approbation, and the support of all desirous of doing away this most oppressive and ruinous system.

Resolved, That imprisonment for debt is a violation of the unalienable rights of man, the principles of natural liberty, the intention and spirit of free government, and the provisions of the constitution of the state; that it is congenial only with the ignorance of the "dark ages" and the despotic government in which it originated.

Resolved, That any employer discharging a workman on account of his independent opinions or action on political subjects, is a tyrant of the worst

kind; and the citizen who will submit to such dictation, is forgetful of the dignity and spirit that ought to distinguish a freeman.

Resolved, That this meeting highly approve of the President's recommendation of a reduction of the price of public lands, and feel grateful for his veto of Clay's bill, which would have effectually put these lands beyond the reach of working men.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the "democratic republican nominating committee," to select no person as a candidate for office at the ensuing election who is not known to be the decided friend of the principles above stated.

Resolved, That this meeting responds most cordially to the nominations made at Herkimer, of William L. Marcy and John Tracy, for governor and lieutenant-governor, believing that their election will advance the honour of the state, and the true interests of the mechanics and other working men.

Resolved, That in the untimely and tragic death of our late worthy and estimable fellow mechanic, William Perry, of Philadelphia, we have no language adequate to express our feelings, but we deeply sympathize with a fond and bereaved mother in the loss of an affectionate son, the prop of her declining years, while in the discharge of his duty to his country, and in the exercise of the sacred rights of an American citizen, falling a victim to the infernal spirit of aristocratic domination and tyranny: and that a committee be appointed for the purpose of obtaining subscription from the mechanics and other working men of this city for her relief; and that in order that all may have an equal opportunity of co-operating in this humane object, that the amount of subscription be limited to twenty-five cents each.

Resolved, That in our opinion the formation of a general committee of democratic mechanics and working men will tend greatly to further the principles we have in view, and prove highly conducive to the interests.

Resolved, That the said committee

shall consist of three persons from each ward, to be selected by this meeting.

The resolutions reported by the committee having been accepted, the following additional resolution was unanimously passed.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, no candidate for the national or state legislature ought to be supported, who will not make known unequivocally, to the electors, his determination to oppose all bank and other charters of incorporation granting exclusive privileges.

A committee was then appointed by this meeting, to nominate a democratic working man's general committee, consisting of three from each ward.

We learn from a variety of sources, that the genuine democracy of the city, as well as country, is alive, and looks with anxious interest to the coming election. The issue is fairly joined; the opposing parties have submitted their cause to the people; the merits of either side have been discussed freely, openly, and with great ability; the parties at variance are well known to each other, and the principles to be settled are properly understood. It is democracy against aristocracy; it is a consolidated dynasty of wealth under the protection of unconstitutional law, against the immutable principles of equal rights, defended by the laws of reason and common sense. It is monopoly against liberal principles, falsehood against truth.

Let there be no half-way work of it; the public mind is ready to act, and the decision should be made, not to be misunderstood. When principles are at stake, the useful classes of the community ought to take, and undoubtedly will take, a determined and active part in sustaining their country. In their primary meetings the corner-stone is to be laid. Justice and equality, the foundation of civil liberty, is the groundwork upon which rests the noble edifice, the constitution of our Government, that defends the unalienable rights of freemen against all encroachments. If we are true to ourselves and to our

principles, a monied aristocracy must be prostrated and powerless.

It is nearly a month till the election, but on Tuesday evening next the meetings are to be held, upon which will depend the character of the candidates. These meetings, therefore, are all important, and we trust they will be well attended by those who have the most at stake; and, be it remembered, they will have nothing to complain of if the candidates do not suit them, should they not attend these meetings. We trust that at every ward meeting, on Tuesday evening, a decided expression will be made against rag money and all monopolies, and that the delegates to the nominating committee will be expressly instructed to vote for no candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose all monopolies, and to do all he can towards the passage of a law suppressing gradually all bank notes under twenty dollars.

We again call public attention to the following form of a pledge, which was adopted at the working men's meeting in the Bowery, a few months ago:

PLEDGE

For Members of Congress and of the State Legislature.

I, the subscriber, being proposed as a candidate for [the State Legislature or Congress] do hereby certify that I have not now, and pledge myself that I will not during my term of office, should I be elected, nor for one year thereafter, have any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, in any banking or other chartered company; that, if elected, I will oppose the re-charter of any such company, or the charter of any new one; and that I will use the utmost of my endeavours to procure the passage of a law prohibiting the circulation of bank notes of the denomination of one dollar in this [state or the district of Columbia] at the end of six months, two-dollar notes at the end of twelve months, three-dollar notes at the end of eighteen months, five-dollar notes at the end of two years, and ten-dollar notes at the end of three years, from the passage thereof, or sooner."

The suppression of all small notes is an object greatly to be desired by all classes of men, particularly the farmer, mechanic, and labourer. It is upon these useful and honest members of society that the loss chiefly falls by the breaking of a bank or the depreciation of paper-money. Many lose their all in a single hour. Shall this state of things continue? The remedy is the suppression of all small notes. Let the general circulating medium be gold and silver, which is sure and unchangeable. It is the great object of the present administration to effect this desirable result, and the men who are placed before the freemen of Middlesex by the democratic party, are all strong advocates for this measure. The Bank men are opposed to it because it injures their darling monopoly. Away with rag money, vote for gold and silver currency.—*Jersey Blue.*

THE WARD MEETINGS.—This evening an opportunity will be offered to give a death blow to the base and swindling paper-money, and to the chartered monopolies of this state, Should this city send an anti-rag-money and anti-monopoly delegation to the legislature, there is little doubt that such will be the character of that body, for it has only been by management and corruption that the monopolizing crew have carried the sway for years past, even with all the city delegation in their favour; and the measures adopted for the wards this evening will decide whether the city delegation shall be democratic or not; therefore, we again repeat that it is of the greatest importance that the useful classes should attend the ward meetings and be prepared to counteract any cut-and-dried efforts to get them to support men who are not of the true stamp. Let the right kind of men be chosen as delegates to the nominating committee, and all will be well; but let this business be neglected, and a year may be lost to the reform cause, a year added to the life of the paper-money fraud.

At the county convention held in this village, on the 9. of July last, for the purpose of choosing delegates to the

state and senatorial convention, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That we hail with joy the enactment of the national legislature, whereby a uniform sound constitutional hard money currency is secured to the people of the United States. We hope to see it followed up by the withdrawal of small bills from circulation, and then public confidence cannot be shaken by panic speeches and distress memorials.

And at the republican young men's convention, held in this place on the 20. ult., the following resolution was passed :

Resolved, That gold and silver is the money which we wish to see introduced into general circulation—that, in our opinion, bank paper cannot furnish a safe currency—that from its very nature it is subject to fluctuations, endangering the prosperity of society, by giving a fictitious, unreal value to other property in times of commercial success, and by losing its own value in times of embarrassment—that when it is most wanted it is least useful, unlike gold and silver money, which possesses an inherent, unshaken value.

By their proceedings it will be seen that the eleventh ward young men have spoken out plainly and decidedly against monopoly, and in favour of the constitutional currency. It was one of the largest ward meetings ever held in this city. We hope the other wards will be equally explicit on the subjects above named, and a little more radical as to the means of reform. We do not see why the proposed restriction of the rag currency should be confined merely to notes under five dollars. A law should be passed, we think, by the next legislature, providing, at least, for the gradual suppression of all notes under twenty dollars, within three years, and so thought the working men at their last meeting in the Bowery.

SEEDS.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh to be had at BOLT-COURT for — shillings a pound. A pound, if properly sowed, will produce from ten to twelve thousand plants. To sow the seed properly, you must read the "*Woodlands*." If you follow the directions therein, almost every seed will come up: if you do not, you will get very few plants, and, perhaps, none at all.

FIELD SEEDS.

Deep red MANGEL WURZEL Seed, — a pound. — SWEDISH TURNIP Seed, which I warrant to be the finest and truest that ever was grown in England,

GARDEN SEEDS.

Bags of seed for large gardens (the seeds tied up in paper bags, and those sewed up in a canvass bag), with a printed list of the seeds in the inside, along with a manuscript card of my writing, with the following words on it, "Garden seeds, raised at Normandy farm, in 1833, by Wm. Cobbett," 20s. each.

Bags for small gardens, having all the same sorts of seeds, but in half the quantity of the preceding, with printed list and card the same, 10s. each.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in coming that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.

6. White Runners.
7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Kale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.

57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

LIFE OF JACKSON.

THIS book, with an interesting frontispiece, and an exact likeness of the President, is now published, and may be had, very neatly bound in boards, at Bolt-court, and of all booksellers. The price is 3s.

This history was written by Mr. EATON, a senator of the United States, for TENNESSEE, the colleague of JACKSON in that station; and now his Secretary at War. They both lived on their farms near NASHVILLE in TENNESSEE, and Mr. EATON was manifestly furnished with the official documents by JACKSON himself. My main object was to lay before the people of England the true character of this great soldier and statesman. I have, therefore, left out, in my abridgment, a large part of those details, which would not have been so interesting here, and which were not necessary to the furthering of my object; but I have omitted nothing tending to effect that object. Mr. EATON concluded his work with the conclusion of the last war, and of the wonderful feats of this resolute man at NEW ORLEANS. I have continued his history down from that time to the month of February last, giving a particular account of all his proceedings with regard to the infamous Bank.

As a frontispiece, there is a portrait of the President, which many American

gentlemen have told me is a good likeness of him. It is copied from the portrait of Mr. EATON's book; and, of course, it was taken from the life and with great care.

I have dedicated this book to the WORKING PEOPLE OF IRELAND, as being a record of the deeds of a man that sprang from parents who formed part of themselves.

My readers have seen with what delight I have recorded the triumphs of this man. First, for his own sake; secondly, because he is descended immediately from poor Irish parents; thirdly, because he was so basely and infamously treated by British officers, at the early part of the American revolutionary war; but, above all things, because he sprang immediately from poor Irish parents.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

GILBERT, J. sen., Woburn, Bedfordshire, coach-proprietor.
KING, H. W., Bristol, scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

VOLLANS, J. jun., Leeds, woollen-cloth-manufacturer.
BOWEN, D., Swansea, Glamorganshire, linen-draper.
SHARPLEY, R. and G., Oxford-street, stationers.
BROADY, W., Leeds, wool-dealer.
KEHOE, R., New-street, Bishopsgate-street, wholesale-grocer.
SHOOBRIDGE, G., Skinner-street, tailor.
DANFORD, S., Bathersea-fields and George-street, Lombard-yard, money-scrivener.
HAIGH, D. and J., Slaithwaite, Huddersfield, cloth-manufacturers.
CLARK, H., Bridgewater, Somersetshire, linen-draper.

CHALLINOR, B., Derby, colour-manufacturer.

PHILLIPS, S. and J., Liverpool, merchants.
BINGLEY, F. and E., Wakefield, Yorkshire, printers.

MEYERS, T. and M., Liverpool, salt-broker.
POPE, W. and A. Cambridge, Liverpool, ship-builders.

DEVEY, J. E., Kidderminster, Worcestershire, miller.

GRAHAM, J., Natland, Westmoreland, seed-dealer.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MALCOM, D., Gillybanks and Perth, distiller and writer.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 13.

INSOLVENT.

BERRY, C. C., Liverpool, merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

ABERCROMBIE, C., Liverpool, merchant.

COCKER, E., Wood-street, hardwareman.

GLOVER, J., May's-buildings, St. Martin's-lane, watch-maker.

HUTCHINSON, Montague-close, Southwark, leather-seller.

OPPENHEIM, C. F., Whitechapel-road, Middlesex, merchant.

THORPE, S., Nottingham, warfonger.

WELLS, T., Bingham, Norfolk, farmer.

WHEREAT, J., Portsmouth, tavern-keeper.

WILKINSON, T. and E. Down, bill-brokers.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 15.—The supplies of Wheat from the home counties, as well as Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, have been extremely large; and, with the exception of the last week of August, the most extensive arrival since harvest. Fine qualities formed a small proportion of the samples offering, and were taken by the millers at a reduction in most instances of 1s. per quarter, while all other qualities hung on hand at a reduction of 1s. to 2s. per quarter, and at the close of the market the clearance effected was only limited. Fine white runs may be quoted at 48s. to 50s.; good middling, 45s. to 47s. Fine red is worth 43s. as a top quotation. In bonded Wheat nothing transpiring.

The import of Barley has been considerable, and far exceeding the demand, has further depressed the trade, Maltsters purchasing slowly the Chevalier samples at a decline of 1s. per quarter, and Norfolk and Suffolk malting at a reduction of 1s. to 2s.; distilling and grinding sorts suffered also the same depreciation. For Foreign parcels there was little inquiry.

Malt proved dull sale, and all qualities were 1s. lower than last Monday. The arrival of

Oats has been also large, particularly from Scotland. The trade ruled heavy, dealers purchasing sparingly Irish qualities at a decline of 6d. per quarter, and Scotch at 6d. to 1s. Prices of the article in bond remain nominally unaltered.

Beaus coming more freely to hand, were purchased at 1s. less money.

White Peas maintained their previous terms. Some samples of Maple were at market, and were held at 44s. Grey scarce, and fully as dear.

The Flour trade was dull, but not cheaper. Ship qualities are, however, offering at very low terms, best Mark not being worth more than 35s. Irish is in short supply, and bears a higher relative value, being held at 30s. to 33s.

Wheat, English, White, new....	42s. to 53s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new.....	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	37s. to 42s.
White	43s. to 45s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 40s.
White	40s. to 42s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 43s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish, red, good.....	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye, new	30s. to 33s.
Old	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	26s. to 28s.
Distilling.....	28s. to 30s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	37s. to 39s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new.....	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 35s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new.....	36s. to 38s.
Old	38s. to 40s.
Peas, White, English	38s. to 40s.
Foreign	36s. to 40s.
Grey or Hog	40s. to 42s.
Maples.....	42s. to 44s.
Oats, Polands	22s. to 25s.
Lincolnshire, short small	22s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	22s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed.....	20s. to 23s.
Black.....	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato, new.....	24s. to 25s.
Old.....	27s. to 28s.
Angus, new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to 27s.
Banff and Aberdeen, common new	24s. to 25s.
Old	25s. to —s.
Potato	26s. to 27s.
Old.....	26s. to 28s.
Irish Potato, new.....	23s. to 24s.
Old.....	22s. to 25s.
Feed, new light	19s. to 21s.
Black, new	20s. to 21s.
Foreign feed.....	24s. to 25s.

Danish & Pomeranian, old 20s. to 22s.
 Petersburg, Riga, &c... 22s. to 24s.
 Foreign, in bond, feed.... 12s. to 14s.
 Brew 16s. to 18s.

PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to 42s. per cwt.
—— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
—— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
—— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
—— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
—— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	50s. to 60s.
—— Cumberland ...	50s. to 60s.

SMITHFIELD, December 15.

This day's supply of Beasts was, even for that of the great Christmas market, great, and, though it did not embrace so many prodigies as did that of last year, its general quality was good: the supply of each kind of small stock rather limited. Trade was, throughout, exceedingly dull, with Beef and Veal, except a few very superior Scots should have sold at their Friday's currency, at a depression of from 2d. to 4d.; Mutton, 2d. per stone; with Pork at barely stationary prices.

About three-fifths of the Beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and Shorthorns; the remainder about equal numbers of Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with, perhaps, 300 Scots; about 200 Sussex Beasts, about 50 Town's-end Cows, a few Staffords, &c.

About a moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about one of the former to two of the latter; about a fourth Southdowns, and the remainder in about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

About 3,000 of the Beasts, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with about 200 Scots and 300 Irish Beasts, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and other of our northern districts; about 200, for the most part Devons and homebreds, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, and not more than 40 of these by way of Mile-end; about 600, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish Beasts, from our western and middling districts, about 250, in about equal numbers of Sussex Beasts, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots, and Irish Beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including the Town's-end Cows, from the neighborhood of London.

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Letter IV. Have they *dominion* in their lands?
Or do they lawfully possess only
the *use* of them?

Letter V. Can they do *what they like* with
their lands?

Can they *use* them in any way that
shall clearly tend to the injury of
other men, or to that of the King,
or Commonwealth?

Can they *use* them so as to drive the
natives from them?

Can they *use* them so as to cause the
natives to perish of hunger, or of
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Ditto Trowsers	1 0 0	1 10 0
Summer Trowsers	0 14 0	1 1 0
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poison, not knowing what else would give me relief, which reduced me to a complete mass of bones. Had I not been naturally a strong robust man, I must have died from its effects years ago. At last I came to a resolution to try the Hygeian Universal Medicines. I was induced to call in your agent, Mr. Morris, of Buffalo, who with kindness and civility gave me every advice and instruction that any person could do. Through his unshaken confidence I was persuaded to give them a fair trial; but for some time I received little benefit from them, owing to the quantity of mercury I had taken. Persevering, however, in taking from four to ten pills daily, for three months, by the blessing of Providence, I have obtained health to my great satisfaction. I am now able to work at my employment, which for years I have been a stranger to. I am happy and proud to declare before all the world, the important benefit I have received. Hundreds are now witnesses to my wonderful cure; and thousands, I trust, will call down the blessing of heaven on your head, and on all those who are concerned in this great and glorious work.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,
J. RECKFORD.

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